LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

Editor: R. Palme Dutt

Churchill, Eisenhower & Britain
R.P.D.

The Geneva Convention, 1949
JOHN PLATTS-MILLS

At Vienna I Saw Peace
JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

February, 1953

One shilling and sixpence

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QUIZ AND INQUISITION

A victim of the U.S.A.'s McCarran Act wrote describing the experience: 'I was quizzed on what I thought of N.A.T.O. They probably didn't like it when I said that it would be the ruination of Britain. I was asked what I read; and I don't suppose I helped things by making it very clear indeed that I considered I had a right to read, that in my own country we still have that right and I was still, after all, English.' Ludicrous? It depends upon your purpose. Independence, Peace and Friendship are words dreaded by some today as *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* were 150 years ago. To enslave people's bodies, to yoke them as cannon fodder and count them off as voting cattle, their minds must be enslaved. But truth is an extraordinarily hardy growth; once glimpsed its face is always familiar. To enslave the mind the true facts and their interpretation through the knowledge of Marxism must be kept from the victim. How else can the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin be represented as their opposite and aggressive war plans accepted as inevitable? If terror and all the propaganda machines fail to achieve this, if dangerous lessons are still being learnt from books, why, ban and burn—the resort of terrified reaction from the Inquisition to Hitler and Franco, from Chiang Kai-shek to the atomic sub-men. So, too, the Malan-azis ban books and apply Suppression Acts to trade unionists trying to teach Marx's warning that labour in a white skin can never be free while labour in a black skin is enslaved. One of them writes: 'Of course we go on trying to bring about unity and to get the white worker to co-operate with the non-white; we keep pegging away at it, and reading *Labour Monthly* certainly helps us to do so.' What dangerous atoms are ideas: how highly explosive are progressive books and magazines!

That is why I think this picture is important of how periodicals get into the reading rooms of a public library. The Library Committee of the local council—with its elected and co-opted members—has a certain limited budget. Who are these Committee members? The ironmonger from High Street; the builder from Market Square; that lively young schoolmaster such a help with the cricket club: the clever woman doctor so good with difficult children; the absent-minded vicar of St. John's, the archaeology enthusiast; and the railwayman from that big post-war council housing estate who had such a thumping majority last time. People you all know. The librarian reports on this and that, and finally presents the list of periodicals currently displayed for renewal. And what's this? A petition: that a certain monthly Magazine of International Labour be added to the list. Hrrmph, grunts the Chairman, can't afford more. But, quietly interposes the railwayman, there seem to be quite a lot of people wanting this magazine. Nobody ever reads "X", says the schoolmaster. So—out goes that expensive business mens' weekly and *in* goes *Labour Monthly*. And this is just about what happened in one English country town recently. Library readership is increasingly important as unemployment and the cost of living mounts. The main obstacle to expanding our circulation to keep pace with the situation is that those who need it most are increasingly hard up. So it is above all important that our *readership* should increase faster. It has been calculated that there are four readers to every single copy we circulate; but there are many more readers than that of every single copy which finds

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Notes of the Month

Churchill, Eisenhower and Britain

Question: Wherein lie the sources of the present international tension in your judgement?

Answer: Everywhere and in everything wherever the aggressive actions of the policy of the cold war against the Soviet Union find their expression.

J. V. STALIN; Replies to 'New York Times' diplomatic correspondent, December 25, 1952.

WITH the advent of General Eisenhower, Mr. Dulles and the Cabinet of Multi-Millionaires (not to mention the indispensable Senator McCarthy) to the levers of command in the United States, a sharp rise in international tension is taking place. President Truman boasted that his eight years of rule would be chiefly remembered as the era of the inauguration of the 'cold war' against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies; and he ended his régime with a State of the Union Message mainly

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devoted to brandishing the H-bomb as the newest sure-fire weapon guaranteeing the 'ruin' of the Soviet Union. The new President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles have long made clear that they despise such timid, moderate, old-maidish policies, and demand something more 'dynamic'. On the eve of assuming office the new Secretary of State Dulles explained to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on January 15 his conception of an enlightened foreign policy: to advance from the miserable 'failure' of 'containment' and the 'cold war' to an 'offensive' strategy; to promote 'insurrections' (not, of course, 'premature insurrections', he added with a momentary whiff of caution) in the Soviet Union and People's Democracies; to 'roll back the Iron Curtain'; and to destroy the rule of Communism over one third of the world. A modest programme to out-Hitler Hitler. Nor are these only wild and whirling words. A thunderous rumbling of plots, coups and conspiracies in the capitals of Europe and the world accompanies the inauguration of Eisenhower. Open Nazi plots uncovered by the British Secret Service in Western Germany. A new Neguib coup to arrest democrats and dissolve political parties in Egypt. American-financed and organised gangster and murder plots exposed and smashed in the Soviet Union and People's Democracies. Such is the musical accompaniment of the inauguration of the 'new diplomacy' of the Eisenhower era.

The 'New Diplomacy'

Of course the 'new diplomacy' is not really so new. The Pinkerton Agency, as the B.B.C. has recently reminded us with enthusiastic admiration, was long ago established as one of the recognised institutions of the American Constitution. If the poker-faced men of business were prepared to spend millions of dollars in the nineteenth century on spies, agents, under-cover men, thugs, gangsters and killers in order to destroy independent trade unionism and distort the development of the working-class movement into corrupt, subservient and racketeering channels, it is obvious that there is no length to which they would not go when confronted with the victory of the working class and socialism in a leading country of the world, and still more with the extension of that victory to one third of the world, the achievement of economic triumphs eclipsing the capitalist landmarks, and the opening of the advance to communism. The historical record of three and a half decades of the Western powers in relation to the Soviet Union is sufficiently known and established and admitted and available to the same journalists

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who, with excessive ingenuousness, after admitting the past record, profess 'incredulity' at the 'fantastic' suggestion of each successive current incident.

Lower Depths

Mr. Dulles is not original. Congressman Kersten is not the 'onlie begetter' of some startling innovation in the technique of imperialism. What is new is only the scale on which this is now being organised, the limitless flow of dollars and recruitment of personnel for the purposes described in some detail from direct American sources in the revealing article on 'U.S. Cops and Robbers' in the October issue of this journal last year. What is new is the official public proclamation and legislative enactment of these methods of gangster conspiracy, sabotage, incendiarism and assassination as the recognised and approved principal weapons of diplomacy and strategy of a modern imperialist state in its dealings with other states with which it is nominally at peace. This is a further depth in the degeneracy of Western imperialist civilisation today—the fitting counterpart of the glorification of the H-bomb, napalm and germ warfare, or the wholesale shooting of prisoners of war.

Weapons of Bankruptcy

The adoption of these methods as the favoured technique of the Eisenhower-Dulles school, which concentrates on what the *New York Times* discreetly terms 'the bare knuckle aspect of the cold war', in contrast to the supposed namby-pamby methods of the Truman-Acheson school, which in practice initiated the current use of these methods, is not a sign of strength. It is a very sure sign of weakness. It represents the recognition of the complete failure of the previous 'cold war' strategy of 'containment', which sought to strangle economically, taking advantage of the previous fascist devastation, and thus starve into submission the countries where the working class had conquered, and which ended in the opposite outcome: the triumphant reconstruction and mutual co-operation of the countries of socialism and people's democracy, and the increasing economic straits and trade strangulation of the capitalist world. It reflects the increasing discords within the attempted war alliance of satellites, and the consequent setbacks to the Lisbon plans for intensified rearmament and retarding of the schedule for West German rearmament. In the self-same speech of Mr. Dulles to the Senate Committee on January 15, in which he unfolded his

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grandiose plans for aggression, he roundly denounced 'European isolationism', grumbled that the European satellites were 'slipping away' from the American pattern set for them, complained of 'ill-will in large parts of the Middle East to the United States', and even alleged that Latin America could no longer be counted on and might break away from the imperialist yoke and go the way of China. Hardly a favourable review of the troops for beginning the grand war.

'Black War'

Yet the accelerating economic advance of the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy, in contrast to the increasing economic difficulties of the capitalist world, and the growing strength of the world peace movement, render them all the more desperate to find new more active, aggressive measures before the balance is finally set against them. Which way to choose? They have no longer confidence in their previous 'cold war' strategy. They hesitate to unloose their wider plans for what they term 'hot war', that is, for a third world war (although they may be prepared to gamble with partial experiments of extension of aggression in particular areas), because their strategic experts have warned them of the military strength, unity and determination of the peoples of the socialist camp; they know they would be fighting with the majority of the peoples of the world opposed to them; and they have no trust in the willing service of their own ramshackle coalition of hired and subsidised satellites. Hence they endeavour to work out a transitional third alternative, which is neither the old type of 'cold war', nor yet the full-scale 'hot war' they dream of, but which may rather be termed 'black war'—to adopt the American official explanation:

> The agencies now engaged directly or indirectly in open propaganda such as the 'Voice of America' and in 'black' propaganda—the use of spies, the financing of anti-communist under-cover activities, etc.—are the State and Defence Departments, the Central Intelligence Agency and to a certain extent the Mutual Security Agency.
>
> (James Reston, Diplomatic Correspondent, *New York Times*, January 11, 1953.)

Mr. Churchill's American Visit

In this propitious atmosphere Mr. Churchill—who has himself had experience of spending and losing £100,000,000 on anti-Soviet intervention—visited the United States. Exactly a year earlier

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Mr. Churchill had made it one of his first tasks, on being installed in office in Britain, to report to headquarters in Washington. On the occasion of that visit we commented at the time:

> After six years the Frenzy at Fulton has ended in the Capitulation at the Capitol. This is not to say that the struggle of the British and American imperialists has ended; on the contrary, it grows more intense. But the Washington talks have represented a further stage in the imposition of American plans on Britain.

The sequel of the first visit has seen a year of economic deterioration for Britain, with falling production, trade and living standards; the senseless prolongation of the Korean war and an officially admitted drain for Britain of £354 million overseas military expenditure; and the rapid advance of American penetration at the expense of Britain in all the countries of the Empire, with the exclusion of Britain from the Pacific Pact, American manoeuvres to secure the oil of Iran and contacts with the Neguib coup in Egypt. What will this second visit bring? At the time of writing, Mr. Churchill's report to parliament has still to be made, and fuller comment must await that report. We have still so far only the morsels offered by the American press, on which the British public nowadays increasingly depends for information about the actions of its 'Government'. But there is every reason to believe that the outcome of this second visit, with the advent of the Eisenhower-Dulles régime, is likely to be still more serious.

A Sudden Decision

Why did Mr. Churchill take the sudden decision, announced on December 26, to leave at short notice and visit President-elect Eisenhower before his inauguration? Everything had been previously arranged and announced for an official visit in the spring, following inauguration. The new announcement came as a surprise equally to American and British official circles ('Washington Taken by Surprise', 'surprise' in London, 'a surprise' in New York—*The Times*, December 27). American opinion was declared to be 'not enthusiastic' (*Observer*, December 28); the *Washington Post* said that 'he could scarcely have chosen a less convenient time'. Hardly a skilful tactical method to open delicate negotiations. Under the circumstances it was inevitable that comment should connect the sudden decision with the publication by the *New York Times* on December 25 of the exchange of questions and answers between its diplomatic correspondent, James Reston and J. V. Stalin, who declared in reply to written questions that he did not regard war

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between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. as 'inevitable'; that the two countries could 'live in peace'; that the cause of international tension was 'the policy of the cold war against the Soviet Union'; and that he would welcome a meeting with Eisenhower to 'ease world tension' and to co-operate in ending the Korean war. This significant initiative for peace, following the powerful demonstration of the widely representative People's Congress for Peace at Vienna in favour of the settlement of all international differences by negotiation, and holding out the possible prospect of an Eisenhower-Stalin meeting, was prominently published in the *New York Times* on December 25. On December 26, Churchill announced his hasty decision to fly at short notice to Eisenhower.

Crossroads

In the existing tense international situation two paths open out: either the extension of war and aggression, in view of the bankruptcy of all the existing wars and aggression of the Western powers, to a yet more reckless outcome; or the recognition of the facts of the existing balance of world forces, and entry on the path of negotiation for peace. This choice has still to be determined by the decisions and actions of these coming months. It was noted that a semi-official organ such as the *New York Times* would hardly have been likely to take such an initiative through its diplomatic correspondent without contact with the State Department. It was recalled that the outcome of the Eisenhower visit to Korea had been widely reported to have revealed the unfavourable prospect for any wider extension of military action, so glibly proclaimed for home consumption. It was further observed that Secretary of State-elect Dulles, so far from repeating the customary Acheson technique of immediately denouncing the proposition as a 'new peace offensive', commented with careful politeness and promised that any proposals 'will be seriously considered and sympathetically received'.

Negotiation or War?

Nor were reports lacking that, behind all the fire-eating speeches, an influential trend of thought in the State Department and also in the Eisenhower-Dulles entourage was considering such an alternative possibility of the path of negotiation:

> There is a lot of interest in the idea of an Eisenhower-Stalin meeting. . . . It can be said on good authority that both the new President and his future Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, have been weighing the same idea before Generalissimo Stalin indicated he was not opposed to it.

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> In the State Department, moreover, the thinking of the foremost American diplomatic experts has been running on the same lines. . . . They argue that there may be a good chance of a peaceful settlement in Korea if President Eisenhower and Generalissimo Stalin get together to 'talk cold turkey'.
>
> (Alsop Brothers, *New York Herald-Tribune*, December 31, 1952.)

Thus there were some signs that American diplomacy, and specifically the new Eisenhower-Dulles régime, simultaneously with the increasingly violent aggressive actions in practice, was beginning to turn over the possibility of cutting the losses on the admittedly bankrupt 'cold war' policy and try out the alternative of direct negotiations with the Soviet Union for a settlement. Nor was there any doubt that American public opinion was enthusiastically in favour of such a course. A Gallup Poll published on January 9, revealed 69 per cent. 'definitely favouring' an Eisenhower-Stalin meeting and only 20 per cent. against. It was at this moment of 'menace of peace' that Churchill flew to New York.

Foreign Office Nightmare

Qui s'excuse s'accuse. With clumsy solemnity the hand-out of the Foreign Office proclaimed:

> There is no connection between the present visit and the interview published on Christmas Day in the *New York Times* with Stalin, asserting the Russian leader's own willingness to meet General Eisenhower.

Quite, quite. To anyone who has followed with attention the statements of Churchill in the closing phases of the war and in the subsequent memoirs, as well as the records of the interchanges with Roosevelt, it has been sufficiently obvious that the overpowering panic nightmare dominating the outlook of British reaction, of Churchill and the Foreign Office, has been the fear of an understanding between the two 'giants', the United States and the Soviet Union, such as would in their view have left the weakest of the three partners, Britain, out in the cold. Towards this aim of stable Soviet-American understanding, as the key to world peace and the effective partnership of the leading powers, Roosevelt's policy was plainly turned—reflecting also the recognition that there was no inevitable sphere of conflicting interests between the United States and the Soviet Union, and that the sharp edge of American expansion was turned against the British Empire. In opposition to this Roosevelt strategy, British policy was directed to foment anti-Soviet hostility, as shown already in the Churchill Memorandum of 1942, and the steady blocking of the American demands for the Second

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Front. Similarly after the war it was British foreign policy, using Bevin as the willing mouthpiece of anti-Soviet and anti-communist venom, which first sounded publicly the anti-Soviet call, at a time when United States' policy under the first stage of Truman was still uncertain of its direction and partially carrying the Roosevelt legacy. This initial phase was further reflected at the Moscow Conference in the autumn of 1945, which aroused considerable British official dissatisfaction over the measure of continuing American-Soviet co-operation. It was following this experience that Churchill, in close association with the most reactionary elements in the United States, flew across the Atlantic to deliver the Fulton call for an anti-Soviet coalition led by the United States, and thereby surrendered Britain (for Bevin's policy was only a pale echo of Churchill) into American hands. But the panic alarm of the British Foreign Office at any hint of a sign of a possibility of American-Soviet negotiations has continued to be demonstrated on more than one occasion during these years. The New Munichites have not forgotten the bitter experience of the Old Munichites, who found that, after they had served and aided and abetted Hitler without stint, at the end of six years Hitler double-crossed them and signed a Non-Aggression Pact with the Soviet Union.

The Wrong Direction

Thus it was no matter for surprise that, as soon as the possibility of an Eisenhower-Stalin meeting was raised by the *New York Times* interview, and was seriously discussed in the American press, Churchill flew at short notice to New York to meet Eisenhower. But he flew in the wrong direction. For it is obvious that in the present balance of international forces the key to British-American relations lies in British-Soviet relations, and that only the fulfilment of the British-Soviet Treaty and establishment of British-Soviet co-operation could restore Britain's independence in the diplomatic arena to negotiate effectively with the United States. Even on the lowest calculation of political realism, if Churchill had flown to Moscow, the mere gesture would have placed the initiative in Britain's hands, and brought the new United States Administration tumbling over itself to offer concessions to Britain. On any more serious measure of real statesmanship, such a move would have at once transformed the international situation, and opened the way to a wider meeting of the Powers for the negotiation of peace. But Churchill was tied by his entire policy to be incapable of such an initiative. By flying to New York and Washington, by revealing

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the panic of Downing Street at the possibility of a Stalin-Eisenhower meeting, by guaranteeing beforehand the automatic obedience and adherence of Britain to the American anti-Soviet coalition and its war plans 'at all costs', Churchill threw away the only cards in his hands. He flew to New York and Washington a helpless prisoner and a penniless suppliant—and he was treated as under these conditions he could only expect to be treated. The press was cynical and cool; even the Address to Congress was denied him; and Mr. Acheson lectured him about George III.

Conflicting Interests

This is not to say that the British Prime Minister was unconscious of the sharp and growing conflict of interests between the American expansionist offensive and the British Empire in every quarter of the globe. On the contrary. He came straight from the proceedings of the Dominions Premiers' Conference which had wrestled with the task of bolstering up the sterling area to stand up to the dollar, and from receiving the reports of the wrangles of the Atlantic deputies in Paris, where Britain had been singled out by American comment as the villain of the piece obstructing 'European unity' and retarding the Lisbon tempo of rearmament, with the resulting public declarations of august 'dissatisfaction' by General Ridgway. His press conference on arrival was principally devoted to airing points of conflict, even though suitably attired in velvet gloves of diplomatic cordiality. He warned against the Republican 'Far Easterners' (Europe is 'the centre of gravity'), and against the reckless dreams of war with China ('it would be a great pity for United Nations' armies or American armies to wander about all over this vast China'). He refused the invitation to disclaim the British 'recognition' of the Chinese Government. He complained that the Roosevelt pledge to him on the atom bomb had been violated (the Vandenberg Memoirs have now made clear that it was Attlee who made this surrender as part of the price of the Marshall Plan). He blamed American policy for the dollar deficit ('if the United States shut the door and would take nothing, it was difficult to see how the present unsatisfactory situation could be avoided'). In short, he was by no means unaware of the real conflict between the loving allies. But his complaints were the complaints of grumbling impotence, because his own policy disarmed him. His own policy of the alliance 'at all costs' rendered him as ineffective to negotiate with Eisenhower as Mussolini with Hitler.

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Mr. Acheson's Lecture

To rub in his humiliation, Mr. Acheson's lecture to him was published in full in the *New York Times*—of course without his reply. It is an interesting further indication of the 'new diplomacy' of American imperialism, in its relations with its unhappy satellites, that there is no longer a joint communique, or even two versions of the talks from each side, but only one version of the overlord (by some inexplicable accident 'leaked' to the diplomatic correspondent of the semi-official organ), while the British public has the privilege of receiving its first information about the negotiations of its Premier from reprints in its own press from the press of the overlord. Mr. Acheson appears to have left no sore spot unrubbed and no old wound unopened. Britain's policy was wrong over Iran. Britain's policy was wrong over Egypt. Britain's policy was wrong over the 'European Army'. Britain's policy was wrong over 'Western European Army'. Britain's policy had been wrong over the Stamp Act in the eighteenth century. In short, Mr. Acheson had a good time; and though the *Daily Telegraph* manfully asserts that 'it can be taken for granted that Mr. Churchill himself had much to say', this has no place in the record. A further report in next day's *New York Times* intimated that Mr. Churchill had submitted to Mr. Dulles a request for a 'South-East Asia Defence Pact' (still harping on that exclusion from the Pacific Pact), and had been firmly told that Britain must first accept 'a common policy towards the Nationalist and Communist Governments of China' i.e. toe the line with Chiang Kai-shek against China. These preliminary indications have hardly suggested a fruitful journey.

Mr. Butler's Tale of Woe

To complete this picture, it is necessary to examine the humble and gloomy report to his American masters by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Butler, on the economic exhaustion and impoverishment of Britain in its gallant and zealous fulfilment of American commands. This report—the most complete and damning exposure of the real economic situation in Britain yet made available by a British Chancellor—was of course not presented to the British parliament or the British public, but was given in the form of an interview to an American magazine, the *U.S. News and World Report* of January 13, and there-from reprinted (in part) in the British press. This is much as if President Truman had delivered his State of the Union Message or Economic Review, not to Congress or the American public, but in the shape of an interview to

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Picture Post to be reprinted there-from in the American press. It is also worth noting that even so the discreet and well disciplined British press (with the exception of the *Daily Worker*) omitted all the more grisly portions containing highly important official factual material on the British economic situation, and confined its publicity in general to the moral exhortations and pledges of harder work and more sacrifices in 1953 and humble supplications to the United States to be kind and reasonable and remember the poor and the unfortunate in its trade and economic policy.

Petition in Bankruptcy

What did Mr. Butler say? Surely we have already the *Economic Survey and the Balance of Payments* return and the *National Income and Expenditure* and all the other marvellous modern government presentation of economic facts for the British public (not to mention the popular abridgements with pictures), so that we should be thoroughly well informed, and need not grudge a few morsels and crumbs from the feast going to the American public? Not quite. All these are for the mere British public, to show how wonderfully well off we are, how class distinctions grow less and less, how the national income is 'redistributed' and there are hardly any more rich, and how trifling is the overseas military expenditure about which communist malcontents chatter so much. In short, the usual fairy tales. But Mr. Butler's purpose with the American public was different. It was to show how crushing is the burden of the war policy on Britain, how ruinous the weight of arms expenditure (12 to 13 per cent. of the national income), how gigantic the size of overseas military expenditure (£354 million), how crippling the shackles of the American-imposed trade bans ('we could only dispense with iron curtain supplies at a serious cost to our general economy and the food supplies of our people'), and how impoverished and declining the consequent state of the nation (production at the beginning of 1953 below the level of 1951, and civilian consumption expected to be two to three per cent. below 1950). In short, a somewhat more accurate picture to wring the heart of the foreign over-lord. No wonder the news-hungry British press (not merely the mass-circulation press, but also the 'respectable' organs of 'information' like *The Times*) found it undesirable to print these damning facts from the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the economic state of the nation.

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Double Book-Keeping

Take an example of this interesting method of double book-keeping. Mr. Butler informed the *U.S. News and World Report* that Britain's overseas military expenditure last year was $1,000 million, i.e. £354 million. The official return of overseas military expenditure has been regularly giving an annual figure (for British consumption) ranging round £100 to £120 million—£110 million in 1949, £97 million in 1950, £122 million in 1951, £65 million (provisional) for the first half of 1952 (Cmd. 8666, 1952). We now learn on the authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the correct figure for 1952 was £354 million. It will be of interest to watch for this figure in the next Balance of Payments return. Of course the £65 million for the first half of 1952 was 'provisional'. Of course the expenditure for the second half may have suddenly shot up to £289 million, or four and a half times the first half, so as to make the startling final total. Or, alternatively, Mr. Butler may find it desirable to use a different method of computation of overseas military expenditure for the British public and for the American public. Meanwhile, let us remember this staggering weight of overseas military expenditure of £354 million (it is certainly not decreasing at present in 1953), equivalent to over £15 per head for every income earner. Let us remember the frank admission of the crippling effects of the bans on East-West trade. And let us remember that Mr. Butler and his Government offer no solution whatever to meet these difficulties, but only pledge themselves to their American masters to continue to pursue the same policies which are producing these disastrous results.

Labour's Opportunity

This is the situation in which the Labour Movement in Britain has the greatest opportunity. Against this visible bankruptcy of Toryism and American subservience, now bringing still more menacing possibilities with the advent of Eisenhower and the dangerous drive to extending war, it is possible and necessary to present a positive alternative programme which can rally the support of the overwhelming majority of the nation and lead to decisive changes before it is too late. But this opportunity needs to be grasped. The present battle of policy within the Labour and trade union organisations is no narrow internal question, but involves the immediate future of British politics and the fate of Britain. The present dominant right wing leadership is not moving against Toryism. It is moving closer to Toryism. Witness of this

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is the good will message from the Chairman of the Trades Union Congress to Churchill, which has aroused the justified condemnation of leading unions. No less significant has been the role of Mr. Attlee at Delhi and Rangoon, defending the worst excesses of Tory imperialism, even to the disgust of colonial social-democrats, and placidly contemplating the continuance of the Tory Government to 1956. This leadership is conducting its offensive, not against Toryism, but against its own rank and file, as in the attack on the London Trades Council and the wholesale expulsions of Labour Party members, including some of the oldest pioneers of the movement, for the crime of supporting peace. The aspirations of the majority of the membership have already been shown in an initial form at Blackpool and Morecambe last year. Political awareness is extending, in spite of all the lies and suppressions and distortions. The battle goes forward, and the battle can be won; but it can only be won by unity around a common programme which presents a positive alternative to the policies of Toryism, war, American subservience and economic ruin, and unites the British people, in common with the colonial peoples who are already in the struggle, and with the peace-loving peoples of the world, in the fight for peace, national independence and the organisation of our productive resources for the great constructive tasks before us.

January 19, 1953. R.P.D.

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THE GENEVA CONVENTION, 1949

JOHN PLATTS-MILLS

THE question of the treatment of prisoners of war has become the sole issue on the basis of which the western powers refuse an immediate ceasefire in Korea. The attitude of the United States Government in this matter is widely spoken of as illegal and it becomes accordingly of the first importance to consider whether it is so and what are the consequences.

The Geneva Convention of 1949 was rightly described by Professor Manley O. Hudson of Harvard University and a former Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice, writing in the American Journal of International Law for October, 1951, as 'a landmark in the history of international legislation.' Its conclusions were reached only after a long and patient course of preparation extended over four years to which there contributed the governments and Red Cross organisations of more than 50 countries. The final conference at Geneva itself was in session from April 21 to August 12, 1949, where 63 governments were represented. Four months of continuous and exhaustive debate led to the unanimous agreement on August 12, 1949, of four conventions, of which number three was that 'relative to the treatment of prisoners of war.' Within the six months' period allowed for signing the convention this one had been signed by the governments of 61 states, including all the great powers.

One of the most important amendments to existing conventions was that their provisions were extended to all *de facto* hostilities, irrespective of the nature of the armed conflict. The Geneva Convention applies to civil war and, in the fullest sense, it applies to the war in Korea. Moreover, the Korean Democratic People's Republic and South Korea have expressly adhered to the conventions for the purposes of the war. The United Nations' Bulletin, volume IX, No. 5, of September, 1950, reports:

> Within the last few weeks both the North and South Korean authorities, on an urgent call from the Secretary General of the United Nations, have agreed to abide by the Geneva Conventions in respect to prisoners of war.

The second main provision on which a common point of view was agreed was the requirement that in no circumstances could prisoners be permitted to forego their rights, however much they might desire to do so, and however much their captors might wish it.

The Geneva Conference had before it in the sharpest form the

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proposal that prisoners of war might in certain exceptional circumstances have the right to claim that they should be treated not as prisoners of war, but as people who had been liberated by their capture and who, in consequence, did not desire to return to the government in whose forces they were serving when captured. The French delegation, for example, raised this question repeatedly, both in mixed commission of the conference and in the special committee of that commission. For instance in the mixed commission of May 2, 1949, they cited as argument the position of men from Alsace and Lorraine, or Czech citizens captured by the French in German uniform in the first world war who claimed that France was not their enemy and that by falling into the hands of the French they had really been freed from a position which forced them against their will and honour to fight on a side which was not the one of their choice.

Professor de la Pradelle, professor of law at Aix-en-Provence, a delegate to the conference and president of its mixed commission reports in his book *Les Nouvelles Conventions de Geneve* that these examples made an impression on the delegates, but they decided that any provision which gave recognition to this possibility would be so open to abuse by the captor as to undermine the whole protection given by the convention. The French proposal was rejected and the British and American delegates took a leading part in the argument for its rejection.

There is no element in international relations or in the conduct of war that has arisen since 1949, which was not fully within the consideration of the delegates at the conference that agreed the conventions. The essential articles of the convention are:

> Article 118: Prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of active hostilities.
>
> Article 119: Repatriation shall be effected in conditions similar to those laid down in articles 45 to 48 of the present convention. . . . Prisoners of war against whom criminal proceedings . . . are pending may be detained until the end of such proceedings. . . . By agreement between the parties . . . commissions shall be established for the purpose of searching for dispersed prisoners of war and of assuring their repatriation with the least possible delay.
>
> Article 7: Prisoners of war may in no circumstances renounce in part or in entirety the rights secured to them by the present convention.

There is no room here for inferring any exception to this rule. The duty of the captor to send home the prisoner is absolute and is founded on humanitarian grounds. Least of all is there possibility for a qualification of the rule based on humanitarianism.

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If the arguments of Mr. Acheson and Mr. Eden at the United Nations at the end of 1952 were not greeted with derision by world opinion, it was only because the Press and the radio have effectively concealed from the people the true nature and basis of the agreement of 1949.

Many authorities have asserted that the American proposals are illegal. Typical would be Professor Pitman B. Potter writing in the American Journal of International Law, vol. 46, No. 3, for July, 1952, p. 508, where he laid it down that prior to these days:

> It was universally assumed and insisted that the captor should promptly repatriate all prisoners of war at the end of hostilities. . . . Retention by the captor was the main point against which the attack was made. Refusal to repatriate was the chief offence of which the captor could be guilty.

However illegal may be their conduct, one does not expect the Americans to be entirely lacking in supporters who are prepared to say that they are acting legally. So Mr. Philip Noel Baker, in *The Times* of September 13, 1952, sought to argue that prisoners of war may under the convention elect not to go home.

He came to his conclusion only by ignoring the mandatory word 'Shall' and so giving a false rendering of the whole article. He ended with the following appeal: 'If, as the Foreign Office thinks, the view set out above is right, it should be re-stated now with the highest authority behind it.' The Foreign Office, however, did not respond to this appeal.

The parties themselves at Panmunjom have already agreed provisionally to apply the existing law and to reject the illegal American proposal. Since July, 1951, the Americans have been debating with the Korean Democratic People's Republic and the Chinese volunteers, the terms of a Draft Armistice Agreement. Over 60 points are agreed. On July 4, 1952, agreement was reached on point 51 of this Armistice Agreement. It provided for the release and earliest repatriation of all prisoners of war in the custody of each side at the moment when the armistice agreement should come into effect on the basis of the lists which would be exchanged. This seems to show that the military negotiators knew very well the law and the practice relating to prisoners of war and have only been over-ridden by higher political authority. It underlines the determination of the United States Government to insist upon a point of view which they knew was illegal and unacceptable.

There are other breaches to which attention must be drawn. The very act of screening of prisoners on political grounds is itself a

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departure and the resulting segregation into separate camps with different treatment on political grounds is a further breach. Article 16 provides:

> All prisoners of war shall be treated alike by the detaining power without any adverse distinction based on race, nationality, religious beliefs, or political opinions, or any other distinctions based on similar criteria.

What more can be said about the treatment of prisoners in the camps? The whole world knows of the wholesale massacre of February 18 and May 19 on Koje Island. The tortures, tatooing and appeals signed in blood, the continued killings, are all said to be justified as a means of preserving for prisoners the right to refuse to go back to their homes. The mental processes and barbarity of those who conducted the Inquisition in the Middle Ages were not greatly different.

What are the consequences to the Americans who are responsible for these breaches of international law? The answer may be introduced by reading a passage from the Judgment of the Nuremberg Tribunal in volume 22, page 472, where the American Judge, John J. Parker, reports:

> On 8th September, 1941, regulations for the treatment of Soviet prisoners of war in all prisoner of war camps were issued, signed by General Reinecke, the head of the prisoner of war department of the High Command. These orders stated:
>
> The Bolshevist soldier has therefore lost all claim to treatment as an honourable opponent, in accordance with the Geneva Convention. . . . The order for ruthless and energetic action must be given at the slightest indication of insubordination, especially in the case of Bolshevist fanatics. Insubordination, active or passive resistance, must be broken immediately by force of arms (bayonets, butts and firearms). . . . Anyone carrying out the order who does not use his weapons, or does so with insufficient energy, is punishable. . . . Prisoners of war attempting escape are to be fired on without previous challenge. No warning shot must ever be fired. . . . The use of arms against prisoners of war is, as a rule, legal.

Similar phrases to those of General Reinecke can be found in the orders, as reported in the British papers, issued by the U.S. General Boatner and his colleagues in these days. The approval of General Reinecke's order was one item in the indictment that led the war criminals Keitel, Kaltenbrunner, Jodl and Bormann to the gallows at Nuremberg.

It is worth recalling that British prisoners of war maintained, whether in Asia or Europe, the right, and indeed the duty, to embarrass, vex and annoy their captors in every possible way. It was an article of faith that prisoners should not accept meekly the authority of their captors. Whenever excesses were committed the

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Nazis and Japanese justified their conduct by blaming the prisoners. Here, too, a parallel may be found.

The remaining question is the matter of punishment. It must first be decided whether breaches of international law relating to prisoners of war constitute war crimes or whether they are merely matters of breach of agreement. In his judgment at Nuremberg the British Judge Lord Oaksey, as reported in volume 22, page 413, cited the Charter of the International Tribunal, and in particular Article 6 which defines 'war crimes' as 'violations of the laws or customs of war. Such violations shall include, but not be limited to . . . murder or ill treatment of prisoners of war.'

The Charter of the International Tribunal of Nuremberg does not apply expressly to the war in Korea although the judges asserted that it set out the existing international law. The Geneva Convention, however, itself deals with this question in articles 129 and 130. The convention avoids the use of the term 'war crime,' but it nevertheless provides for bringing to trial and punishing those who commit 'grave breaches' of the convention. The Assistant Legal Adviser to the British Foreign Office, writing in the *British Yearbook of International Law*, 1949, volume 26, page 294, expresses the view that such grave breaches should be considered as war crimes. Reliance is placed upon the definition of 'grave breaches' given by Professor Lauterpacht of Cambridge, a member of the Editorial Board of the *British Yearbook of International Law*, who at volume 21, page 79, supports the view that these breaches are war crimes. It follows that generals and politicians directly responsible might well find themselves arraigned before a world tribunal for their crimes.

It may be said that by asserting now that they will not in the future allow prisoners in certain classes to be repatriated, the Americans are not committing any crime, but are merely saying that in the future they will commit one. The law does not permit such a defence. The only law binding on the nations in the international community is law made by agreement. There is no overriding international power to enforce respect for agreements. It follows that the observing of international agreements and the recognising the sanctity of those agreements is even more vital in the international field than it is in the domestic law of any one state, where there is always the court to enforce agreements. In the systems of law of all countries it is recognised that the positive assertion of the intention to commit the breach of an agreement is itself actionable. It is called in our system 'an anticipatory breach.'

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A similar principle is found in Roman law and in the Code Napoleon. In the present case the threatened breach is being used to keep in existence an actual war. Without this threatened breach there would now be an armistice. The threatened breach is therefore tantamount to the making of war and constitutes a war crime.

It is in the light of the above matters that we may consider the resolution adopted by the United Nations on December 3, 1952. This is the much publicised Indian proposal. It consists of a series of 17 proposals which the President of the General Assembly was requested to communicate to the Chinese and Korean Democratic People's Republic authorities 'as forming a just and reasonable basis for agreement.' The proposals, however, in distinct terms departed from the provisions of the Geneva Convention and sought to substitute the American illegality. They introduced in short the very flaw which at Geneva in 1949 it was agreed renders valueless the whole system of protection set up for prisoners of war. It provided for a repatriation commission but at every point where agreement is not reached, as in proposals 14 and 17, it required that the matter should go back to the United Nations to be determined by that body. In short, it gave one of the belligerents the right to decide the questions involved. It seems clear that China and the Korean Democratic People's Republic would be prepared to enter into debate and negotiation for settling the prisoner of war issue if a ceasefire were first entered upon. Indeed the specific suggestion repeatedly made in the U.N.O. Assembly that an immediate ceasefire should be included in the Indian resolution was turned down. The phrase comes in only, and then by an amendment, on the very day when the vote was taken after three weeks of debate, in a preamble to the proposals, and only as the expression of a pious hope. Instead of saying, 'let there be first a ceasefire,' the following phrase is used: 'The General Assembly requests the president to communicate the following proposals to . . . China and . . . North Korea as forming a just and reasonable basis for an agreement so that an immediate ceasefire would result and be effective . . .' On no possible construction does that phrase amount to an agreement that there should be a ceasefire.

It is the duty of every British citizen to see that our government does not continue to give aid and comfort to those who are now committing the war crimes that are here complained of. The rule of international law is not incapable of recognising the role of the accessory. Some day the parallel of Nuremberg may have to be completed.

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AT VIENNA I SAW PEACE*

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

MANY of us were delegated by groups, by professions, by organisations. They have to give a report to those who mandated them. For my part I was mandated by no-one, but nevertheless in my capacity of writer it seems to me that there are people before whom I must bear witness—those who, like me, are not members of the Peace Movement, but who, like me, believe that everything must be done to prevent war. And who, for all that, did not go to the Vienna Congress. I address myself much more to them than to my comrades of the Peace Movement, for it is they who have to be convinced.

Why did they not go to Vienna? Did the programme of the Peace Movement scare them? Did they find Joliot-Curie's guarantees were not enough? No, it wasn't that.

But the wireless and the newspapers had made them suspicious. For months they had been worked upon; through their eyes and through their ears, every hour of the day, suspicion entered in. And I thought to myself, if they knew what the Vienna Congress has been they would come to us; but they do not know and if we do not tell them they will never know because the press is swindling them. The method is simple enough:

(i) Whenever a conservative paper comments upon a resolution or a proposal of the Peace Movement, it translates the word peace into the word war, by virtue of the following reasoning: there is no peace other than that which the Americans impose by the superiority of their atomic weapons. Any proposal to slow down the armaments race or to prepare disarmament is therefore against the American peace. It is therefore a war proposal. The Peace Movement seeks to win men's minds for peace. In the language of the reactionary Press this is translated as: demoralise these populations so that the Soviet armies can more easily defeat us.

(ii) Whenever a conservative paper comments on a resolution or proposal of the Peace Movement it translates the words *offer* or *proposal* or *compromise* into 'manoeuvre': if it is describing a congress or a demonstration it declares that this has gone off *follow-*

*A speech delivered at the Velodrome d'Hiver, Paris, on December 23, 1952 and reported in *Les Lettres Francaises* of January 8, 1953. Slightly abridged in the first part, while of the latter portion, giving details of the Congress sufficiently known from other sources to our readers, only the main points and conclusions have been reprinted.—Ed. L.M.

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ing a previously arranged script, according to plan. It naturally follows that the demonstrations in question 'will bring nothing new'.

(iii) In particular the press pursues a definite aim: that of isolating the Communist Party and the working class from the rest of the country. It therefore cannot tolerate the idea that any alliance could be made on this point or that—for example, for the defence of peace or of freedom—between the proletariat, the Communist Party and other sections of the population.

When the Peace Movement conceived the idea of bringing together in Vienna people of all sorts of opinions and outlook, whose only common bond was their desire for peace, it was truly a new idea, which should have aroused the enthusiasm of many and the curiosity of all, the conservative press straight away took up a line of campaign: Declare that the Vienna Congress, compared to the Warsaw Congress, represents nothing new.

The Warsaw Congress represented a narrower grouping: the Peace Movement. This Movement, as you know, includes Communists and non-Communists also. At the time of Warsaw the press had carried out a first operation; it had stated that the non-Communists were a negligible quantity and reduced the Movement to Communists only. After which it declared that they were under orders from Moscow. Thus, after this elegant 'neutralisation' of several millions of men, what was there at Warsaw? Simply the Soviet delegation.

Since a great number of guests belonged neither to the Communist Party nor to the Peace Movement the newcomers had to be 'atomised'. There was more than one method.

First, by simply and purely denying their existence. It was said that there are some, but they won't be there.

Secondly, by making a direct attack. For example, M. Penchenier of *Monde* wrote: 'M. Sartre who thinks, or pretends to think that the Communists in the delegation are only a minority. . . .'

You see, I have the choice. Either I believe it, and I am an imbecile; or I pretend to and I am a swine.

Thirdly, by transforming them into an abstraction. You say to a right-wing journalist: there was a whole cross-section of opinion. He smiles. You say to him: Yes, there were Radicals. He smiles and shrugs his shoulders: 'Of course, Radicals for the occasion'.

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There were Socialists of the S.F.I.O. He sneers: 'There are always Socialists in these big set-ups'. There were priests. 'Yes, yes, and *of course* the Dean of Canterbury.' Why *of course?* Because, after all, it does not seem as natural as all that to me that an English Dean should be at Vienna at a Congress of the Peoples. But you understand: He was also at Warsaw. Hence the *of course.* The Radical is no longer a Radical. The Socialist is no longer a Socialist. The Dean is no longer a Dean. So you see, the Peace Movement at Warsaw had been reduced to the Soviet delegation.

At Vienna they also reduced the 'guests': one again finds the Soviets everywhere, you see.

I bear witness in the first place: the men I met at Vienna were perhaps pseudo-Radicals, but they were true men who knew what they wanted, living men, not men that you can manoeuvre. True, but after all my friends are aware that I am not a writer for the occasion, and they know me. So what was said to me? *That I would be on my own. That I would not be free. That I would be done.* I tell you this because I imagine the same friendly pressure was exerted on other people who might have gone. 'Between ourselves, are you going to raise questions about the internal affairs of the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Democracies?' I answered, why, no, that I saw no reason for it. There are people in our country who imagine that the only link we can have with the Soviet Union consists of criticising their internal affairs in front of their delegates. I declare that if one wants to find the means of reconciling the two great economic and social régimes of today, it is by standing by the principle of seeking for what brings together and not what separates and that one does not meddle in the internal affairs of other countries. 'Yes', they say, 'and besides, *above all,* they won't let you speak'.

There you have it, unhappily—their essential idea. I was going there to speak of mutual understanding; they refused to go with me because they thought they would not be able to throw disorder into the assembly.

'You will be hoodwinked', they said: 'they will make you vote for well-wrapped-up resolutions, you won't see what is behind them: you will think them harmless and then all of a sudden you will discover that you have signed a compromising document and then it will be too late'. In short, they were afraid. Thus it was that the very people who for years have advocated a break with the Atlantic Pact and of the Economic Organisation of Western Europe, the reopening of commercial relations with the East and the re-

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introduction of the principles of the Franco-Soviet Pact, refused to go to Vienna, when it was just the place where other Europeans could be met and questions discussed with the representatives of the U.S.S.R. and the countries of the East. In brief, I went flooded with recommendations. I swear that I would rather have been mandated by 10,000 people who agreed amongst themselves than be the bearer in this way of the contradictory hopes and fears of frightened people, who want peace without having yet understood that peace must be *made*.

I arrived at Vienna. Here I began to go through an extraordinary experience. There have been three such experiences since I came to manhood; three which gave me unexpected hope: the Popular Front of 1936; the Liberation; and the Vienna Congress. This extraordinary experience, I could talk to you about it for long enough, but I want to limit myself to one aspect of it: while there I read this phrase which one of our ministers had used at a journalists' banquet: Truth should be the Golden Rule of the press. Now, at that very moment, I was in minute detail, and so to say hour by hour, experiencing the lies of the press. Lies, systematic, absurd, shameless, the more disgusting for us who saw daily the faces of those who were writing them—the reporters.

Perhaps you may think me a simpleton: I have known for a long time that this press lies. You even come to be able to read the truth between the lines of these lies. But even if you are shocked, even if you protest, you are not on the very spot; you are not, so to speak, present at the birth of the lie. What was so striking was the contrast with the confidence of the delegates, their friendship, of which I will speak later, a sort of youthfulness to be seen in all these men and women: you know, that youthfulness of believing in what you are doing. . . .

The Viennese press without exception—apart from the papers of the Communist Party—did not make a single allusion to the Congress. You understand me: there were two thousand men who represented several hundreds of millions. There were dozens, scores, of scholars, politicians, artists, whom Vienna in other days would have been proud to welcome; there was an assembly of the most picturesque national costumes and languages. Not a word; not the smallest *line* in any paper. The little Viennese clerk who reads a Social-Democratic paper and lives out in the suburbs was kept in complete ignorance of the existence of the Congress. I would remind you that Austria is a bourgeois democratic country,

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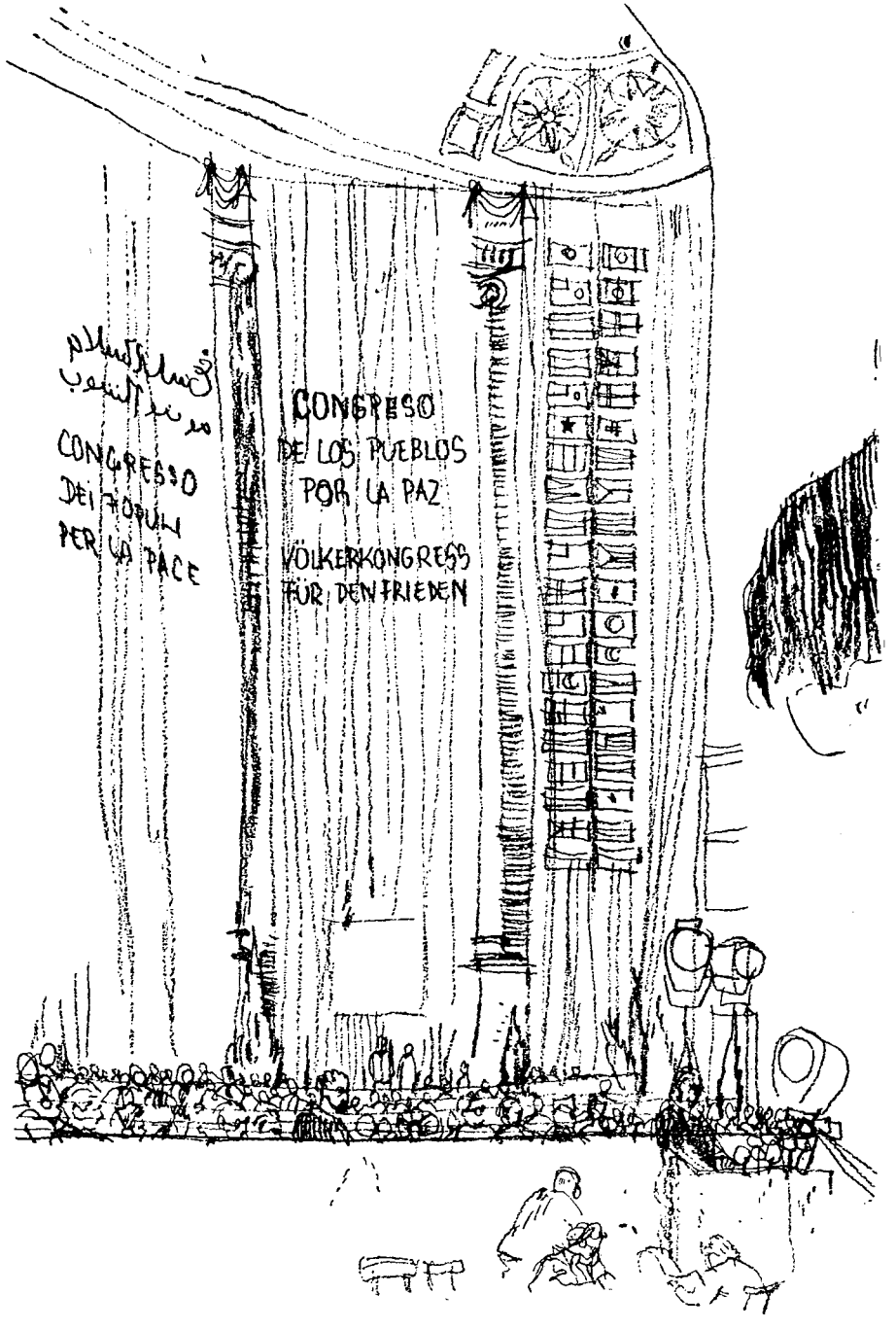
Congress Sketchbook - *by P.*



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Hogarth

Mr. Percy Belcher,
Gen. Sec., Tobacco Workers' Union

Delegates from the Catholic
Clergy of Hungary

Dr. Joseph Kumarappa, leading
delegate from India—follower of
Gandhi and a prominent ad-
vocate of non-violence

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three-quarters of its territory occupied by the armies of bourgeois democracies, whose most cherished principle is the freedom of the press.

But if the Government and the papers ignored us, the Social-Democratic Party did not; for they sent to our hotels duplicated letters explaining to us that we were naive and to give us their advice. How do you like this struggle: so frank and so open? The Social-Democratic Party *hides* our existence from its sympathisers and sends us underhand propaganda notes. For that matter, how did they know all our names? And our addresses? That reminds me to tell you that the police did not forget us either. They searched our rooms.

Meantime, the leading journalists were reporting of the first days of the Congress. This is how the correspondent of *Monde* went about it: (1) 'Not many French.' (2) 'Slanderous tongues: 80 per cent. communist.' (3) 'They had announced Leger, Vildrac, etc. They have not come.' You see: they do the disappearing trick with the guests of the occasion. It is a little war stratagem. 'After all, he did not come. You see, Leger, Vildrac: they've caught on, they have.'

1. But you have two hundred members in the French delegation, and three train-loads. (Seventy members in the Soviet delegation). If you had a criticism to make of the French delegation, it was that they were rather too numerous.

2. Next, we had already learnt to know each other.

In the delegation we had full discussions and what became clear straight away was the enormous proportion of Christians (clergymen, priests or the simple faithful). I do not think I am mistaken in saying that the true proportions ought to be reversed. Fifty per cent. from the Peace Movement, of whom twenty per cent. were Communist, and fifty per cent. invited guests of various shades of opinion. And all of a sudden we find that the pseudo-Radical, the Radical 'for the occasion', is a true Radical, who retains his Radical principles and who is proud of his party; that the pseudo-priests were true priests. And that truly the deep bond between all these people is their common desire for peace—that is to say, their good will.

3. As to Leger and Vildrac, here you have it. The correspondent of *Monde* came and sat next to me and whispered in my ear: 'Between ourselves—' (Why between ourselves since I was either a

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simpleton or a traitor? Did he mean 'between simpletons' or 'between traitors'?) 'Between ourselves, why hasn't Vildrac come? And Leger?' It was in the communal dining room. I pointed with my finger to Vildrac and Leger breakfasting together. He seemed embarrassed. I said to him: of course you will put in a correction? 'Yes', he said, 'yes, yes'. I do not need to tell you that I am still waiting for the correction.

So I ask you, who are the simpletons? We, the Radicals, the priests, the writers, 'for the occasion', whom it would appear are used for obscure manoeuvres, or the readers of *Monde*, who tamely swallow such lies, and who go about telling you that it is an objective paper?

But in the reports of the first sessions the French were beaten on points by the English and the Germans. One English paper, reports the opening of the Congress: as may be imagined, everybody was there. What do the English say?

> M. Joliot-Curie spoke to empty seats. Nobody from the West had come to Vienna, there were only delegates from the East who preferred to stroll down the main streets looking at shop windows.

On the second day, Chancellor Wirth spoke. A few days later I read in a German paper:

> Chancellor Wirth complained in his speech that he could not speak freely, because speeches had to be put in five hours in advance. Ostensibly for the translators; in fact to pass the Soviet censorship.

Unfortunately, I know a little German and I listened to Chancellor Wirth himself and not to the French translation of his speech. Of course he made no allusion to the freedom of speech; and after all, how could he have complained, for he had composed his speech before arriving at the Congress. As to the speeches, I do not know what happened to others, but I put mine in an hour before I was going to deliver it and it had to be translated while I was delivering it. Furthermore, after the second day the translators tried to improve on the time for translations and speeches could be given in ten minutes before delivery. . . .

What I saw in Vienna, in that enormous building all draped in blue, was not simply a Congress, it was peace. We not only made known our desire for peace to our Governments, we have been *making peace*. We brought about a unique experience of friendship amongst men. Vietnamese and French, Chinese and Americans, could meet, talk, smile with one another, without betraying their country, without forgetting the wars which were taking place nor

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the sufferings of their people. If there was hope at Vienna it was because, all of a sudden, we saw what peace could be and has never yet been: concord. . . .

For my part, as I have said, I cannot do other than to bear witness. I do it precisely because I am not a member of the Peace Movement, because I didn't sign the Stockholm Appeal. I do it for all those who are like me but didn't go to Vienna; I bear witness therefore that the Vienna Congress is and will remain, despite all the calumnies, an historic event. I bear witness that the representatives of more than seventy nations met there and put forward their point of view, not only in all freedom, but in all friendship. I bear witness that they parted with the determination to follow up what they had done; and with the hope of making good. I bear witness that Peace, of which I saw the first seed, is something more than the mere absence of war, and that it could be a new honour and a new bond between men. The seed, we saw it at Vienna: it is for us—and for you who didn't come, but who will come next year to Vienna or elsewhere—not to let it be crushed.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

CO-OPERATION AND SOCIALISM

I visited, with other co-operators, the U.S.S.R. in November last at the invitation of the All-Russian Co-operative Movement to celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the establishment of the first Workers' Socialist Republic, and I say unhesitatingly that the October revolution was the greatest event in world history. . . . One cannot visit Russia without realising that the war of 1914-18 gave the proletariat of Russia its unique chance and that this chance was used to the full by that great and incomparable leader, Lenin. The war was the hand-maiden of the revolution, Lenin was its genius. . . . Thus one hears the slogan 'Socialism through Co-operation' repeated on all hands throughout the U.S.S.R., and the astonishing progress of the co-operatives can be accounted for only by the ideological impetus given to them by the Socialists.

From *Co-operation in the U.S.S.R.*, by Joseph Reeves, Secretary Education Committee, Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society, February, 1928.

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THE RENTS OFFENSIVE

KATHERINE HOOD

'MY Lords, in this House we are fortunate in numbering amongst our members men of deep knowledge and experience' said Lord Lloyd, speaking on behalf of the Government in the recent Lords' debate on the Rent Acts (11.12.52). Certainly the personal knowledge of property ownership displayed on this occasion could hardly be rivalled. Viscount Buckmaster who initiated the debate on the 'need for a revision of the Rent Restriction Acts' is a director of important and very prosperous property companies; those who supported him included Viscount Gage who owns 10,000 acres and the Earl of Buckingham who owns 5,000; Lord Amherst of Hackney who 'declared his interest' as a landlord; Viscount Portman, one of London's biggest landowners; Lord Hylton who is a director of a property company; Lord Meston who is President of the Property Owners' Protection Association. Lord Lloyd, ex-company director, is son-in-law to a great Scottish landowner, the Earl of Airlie. Even Lord Wolverton, banker, who struck such an unusual note when he said 'I find myself in the position of not being a landlord' is closely related to the landowning Dudleys.

The spectacle of this closed circle of very wealthy men demanding increased rents and claiming to speak for 'the people of this country' could be dismissed as a grotesque joke were it not for the very peculiar statements of Lord Silkin and Lord Morrison, ex-members of the Labour Government. The landlords, closely supported by their hangers-on, the surveyors, land agents, auctioneers and the like have been calling for increased rents with an ever louder voice. For six years the Labour Government turned a deaf ear to their cries. This autumn the Minister of Housing announced that an enquiry was being conducted into the problem while the Conservative Party Conference went on record for a revision of the Acts. In spite of this, the Queen's speech contained no reference to the question, and it was therefore widely assumed that the Government would not dare go through with legislation on such an explosive matter unless they could get some measure of agreement with the Opposition.

The House of Lords Debate was the first step in this direction. The case for the landlords was of course put ad nauseam. Lord

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Lloyd, speaking for the Government, however, made a remarkable speech outlining all the obstacles to any revision of the Acts and asking that the matter be 'freed from the complications of party strife.' Lord Silkin then suggested that a committee of enquiry be set up 'which is not looking at the matter from a purely political point of view' which should report as a matter of urgency 'upon the subject of houses that are becoming uninhabitable through inadequacy of rent.' Lord Morrison having said 'it is no secret that the Labour Party Executive is also giving special consideration to this problem' followed this up with the almost unbelievable proposal that the Lords should form themselves into a Working Party on the subject. And added 'Non-Party approach may be difficult for another place; it is not so difficult for the House of Lords.'

The proposal for an issue of this sort to be taken 'out of politics' means, as it has often meant before, that Labour politicians should forget that they are supposed to represent the working class. In this case it also means that politicians should combine to disregard the wishes of their electors. Not having to face being elected, the House of Lords is in a strong position here. As Viscount Gage said: 'At times we may perhaps be forgiven for thinking that there are certain problems which, by reason of their unpopularity, cannot be faced up to by Parliamentary democratic Government at all.'

What are the issues in this controversy? The background is the housing scarcity which, as affecting the working class, has been with us ever since World War I and before. The people who thrive on a housing scarcity are the landlords. Houses are like any other commodity in short supply; the owners will put up the price if they can without reference to the cost of production or the quality of the goods they sell. The Rent Acts have to a certain extent curbed the landlords' opportunities for gross profiteering.

Of course the Acts have not prevented landlords from going on drawing money from condemned houses which would long since have been demolished without compensation had the war not broken out. There are probably about half a million of these; landlords have done much better out of them than they had any right to expect.

Though the Acts have prohibited evictions, landlords do in practice obtain vacant possession frequently and are then able to sell at a profiteering price. Moreover the big landlords tend to combine ownership of dwellings with ownership of commercial and

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other property, the rents of which are not controlled. So that in spite of the Acts the total amount going annually in net rents from land and buildings (after deductions for repairs) has risen from an average of £384 million per year in the five years 1933-38 to £466 million in the five years 1946-50. (*Economic Journal,* June 1952). Lord Silkin pointed out:

> I notice that many of these property companies, having acquired large numbers of rent restricted properties, are paying substantial dividends. One I know is paying a 22 per cent. dividend. That is not bad, and there is no earthly reason why they should be put in the position of paying a 30 per cent. dividend. (10.12.52).

But what of those landlords—we do not know how many there are—who have no other property than rent restricted dwelling houses of which they cannot obtain vacant possession? There are two kinds of rent restricted dwellings—'old-controlled' and 'new-controlled.' The first are those whose rents were fixed in 1920—there are alleged to be four million of them. The 1920 rents included a 40 per cent. increase which was given to landlords at the time as a result of the latter's claim that building costs had risen so much they could not afford to do repairs. Soon after 1920, building costs fell heavily. For example the average building cost per square foot for local authority houses fell from 20s. $2\frac{1}{4}$d. in 1920 to 9s. 4d. in 1922. The cost of repairs stayed low right on until 1939. There were many demands in the thirties that in view of the fall in prices the 1920 rents should be reduced again; this of course was never done. So that for 18 years even those landlords who carried out repairs reaped a far larger profit than was ever anticipated. * Following on this came six years of war during which no repairs except the most urgent sanitary ones could be carried out. As we know, many landlords failed to do repairs and thus reaped an even larger profit. The provision in the Rent Acts for enforcing repairs was difficult to operate, and there are whole streets where tenants can testify that for decades the rent was paid week in week out, and hardly a penny came back in the form of repairs.

The landlords base their claim on the fact that repairs cost 190 per cent. more than in 1939. It has to be stressed that repairs even now only cost about 30 per cent. more than they did in 1920 when the rents were fixed. If we reckon that a quarter of the rent goes in repairs, even those who are so anxious to be 'fair' to land-

* For further details on this question see *Should Rents be Raised?* published by the Labour Research Department.

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lords cannot claim that they are entitled to an increase in rent of more than seven per cent. But in this case to be equally 'fair,' the increased profit which the landlord made in 18 years when repair costs were low, should be paid back to the tenant in the form of compensation.

The truth is that landlords have had the opportunity to accumulate vast reserves. If they chose to waste their substance on riotous living, that is really not our business. In most cases it will be found that the money is there in one form or another; if not, it is the landlords' job to find it—not the tenants'. It is argued that in practice there are many small landlords—old people for the most part—who perhaps own two houses—live in one of them and off the other. Perhaps such a landlord was left these houses in a will; it is not his fault if the landlord before acted imprudently. We do not know how many such landlords there are, but these arguments about 'aged widows' and the like are common ones and are always grossly exaggerated; they were also used against any proposals to cut down the compensation to nationalised industries. 'Look at all the *small* shareholders' it was said. It is not beyond the wit of man to devise special arrangements to cater for genuine hardship cases. But if the landowners really cared a fig for the 'aged widows' they would be campaigning for higher old age pensions.

So much for the 'old-controlled.' What of the 'new-controlled'?

There are about $4\frac{1}{2}$ million houses built before World War I which were decontrolled between the wars; their rents are fixed at the 1939 level. For these houses throughout the thirties the landlord could charge what he liked. There was still a housing scarcity which meant that 'scarcity' rents were charged. The Ridley Committee said in 1945:

> We think it is true to say that except for a year or two before the war, and in some parts of the country not even then, there has been no free market for housing within the controlled limits since 1914. There were always more would-be tenants than houses available, and so rents of uncontrolled houses were maintained at a high level.

Thus in respect of these houses, which form the majority, there is no argument for increased rents whatever—they were always extremely profitable and are now slightly less so—that is all.

There is no doubt, however, that the Rent Acts have tended to alter the balance in the distribution of the National Income. The following table (based on the *Economic Journal* of June, 1952), shows what has been happening.

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SHARE OF HOME NATIONAL INCOME

	1934-38 %		1946-50 %	
Rent (after deduction for repairs)	9.5	34.5	5.0	35.2
Home Profits	25.0		30.2	
Salaries	25.6	65.6	23.0	64.8
Wages	39.9		41.8	
Home National Income	100		100	

We see from this that there has been a slight drop in the share going to wages and salaries together, and a slight rise in the share going to rent and profit taken together. But, within this latter share, profits have leapt up and rents have fallen. It is really this that is the cause of the landlords' fury, the fact that the rise in rents should lag so far behind the rise in profits. If they wanted increased rents for the purpose of doing repairs, they would be concerned with bringing down building costs—a question on which they show little interest.

In this situation many well-meaning persons have rushed in with proposals for solving 'the problem.' The argument goes like this: 'We agree that many landlords haven't done repairs when they should and have no intention of spending any more on repairs in the future if they can help it. We agree that they made enormous profits in the past and should have sufficient reserves to do the repairs now. But whatever the landlords' past misdeeds they cannot afford repairs out of the *current* rent, and urgent steps are now therefore needed if the national stock of houses is to be saved from falling down.' And from this follows a variety of suggestions for permitting increases but making certain they are spent on repairs.

These are not *national* houses but *privately-owned* houses. Increases in rent, whether to line the landlord's pocket or to improve the landlord's property are to the benefit of the landlord.

And of what does this stock of privately-owned houses consist? Lord Lloyd put the matter in a nutshell:

> It seems clear that well over 2,000,000 houses in this country are over 100 years old and over 4,000,000 are over 75 years old. . . . I suggest that many of these houses that I have mentioned—the 6,000,000 between 75 and 100 years old—do not come up to modern standards of construction

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> or amenity, and the sooner the tenants can be moved out of them into new houses the happier we shall all be. . . . What I want to emphasise is that in these cases it is not the operation of the Rent Restriction Act which is causing the houses to fall into disuse or will cause them to fall into disuse in the future. The real reason . . . is that these houses are in any case coming to the end of their useful life, and no repairs could really patch them up adequately. I would make so bold as to say that building labour would be much better employed constructing new houses, or in repairing houses in better condition which would have a longer span of life.

In fact a house does not last for ever even if current repairs are carried out. Property owners are or should be fully aware of the fact that a certain proportion of the rent is normally set aside for replacement, as distinct from repairs, for there comes a time when new capital investment is required, either in the form of a new house or substantial structural work to the old one. Some time in the thirties the majority of landlords of working-class houses consciously or unconsciously took a decision not to undertake such works but to let their houses die a natural death. They are now too far gone to be saved.

When during the war the Coalition Government adopted a programme of building four million houses in ten years, they recognised that the majority would be for the replacement of old outworn houses. Lord Silkin at the time put the need as much greater—at least seven million were required according to his estimate. Seven and a half years have passed and we have only built one and a quarter million houses. This is the basic cause of the present trouble.

To adopt any policy other than *replacement* of these old houses is simply to play into the landlords' hands. It means that the working class will have to pay more for the privilege of living in insanitary, decayed and worthless houses. It means giving the whole rotten system of private landlordism another lease of life. This is not what the Labour Party is supposed to stand for.

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PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY IN COUNTRIES OF THE EAST

Report of a conference held in the History and Philosophy Department of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., at the Institute of Oriental Studies. (Continued from last issue).

2. Special features of the regime of people's democracy in countries where there is no proletariat or was none at the time of the establishment of the people's power (in particular, in Mongolia).

Candidate of historical sciences I. Ya. Zlatkin, basing himself on the differences of level of socio-economic development between the different Eastern countries of people's democracy, doubted the rapporteur's view that it is possible to give a common definition of the character and peculiarities of people's democracy in these countries. In Zlatkin's opinion, the rapporteur made a mistake in formulating completely identical conclusions about the nature of the people's democratic regimes in all the countries of the East, especially in his conclusion that all the people's democratic countries of the East are special forms of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Zlatkin considered that in such countries as China and also, possibly, Korea, Vietnam and others, people's democracy actually is the democratic dictatorship of the working class and peasantry. But as regards Mongolia and other countries, lacking a proletariat, people's democracy is or will be in such countries a dictatorship of the toiling classes, a dictatorship of the peasantry of these countries, and this cannot be considered fantastic in our day, when the Soviet Union is in being.

A. M. Dyakov also spoke on the theme of the possibility of there being two different types of people's democracy in the East, one for countries possessing a working class and another for those without. In his view, the difference in level of economic development between one colonial country and another sets a special mark on the people's democratic revolution in each of these countries and on the government formed as a result of that revolution. In countries without a proletariat, people's soviets can be formed. The development of these countries towards socialism is made possibly by the aid of countries in which the proletariat has conquered power.

Y. P. Nasenko and A. I. Stadnichenko also took the same view as Zlatkin, but G. V. Astafyev disagreed, declaring that the petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry (which forms the main part of it) cannot act as an independent political force in the fight against

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feudalism and feudal survivals. The peasantry can come forward into the fight for people's democracy only under the leadership of the proletariat, however small in numbers the latter may be. A people's democratic government led by a party with a proletarian ideology is always, even where the peasantry makes up the overwhelming majority of the population, a dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, i.e., of the peasantry advancing under the leadership of the proletariat.

Two views were expressed on the question of the present stage of people's democracy in the M.P.R. Zlatkin, arguing against the rapporteur, asserted that the M.P.R. has already passed the stage of creating the socio economic and cultural prerequisites for transition to the building of socialism. This stage was completed with the final fulfilment of the anti-feudal programme of people's democracy. Approximately from the year 1940 onwards Mongolia has been developing along the non-capitalist road to socialism. This is shown by Articles 1 and 4 of the constitution of the M.P.R. and by the present state of the country's economy, in which the socialist sector predominates in a number of branches. Mongolia is now approaching the problem of the socialist transformation of agriculture. Zlatkin's point of view was shared by Sikiryanskaya, who held that Mongolia, notwithstanding the peculiarities of its path of development, is today in the second stage of people's democracy, with the construction of socialism as its immediate task. Heifetz also agreed declaring that the M.P.R. today has a developed socialist structure and therefore it is impossible to consider it (as regards the tasks and nature of its people's democratic regime) on the same footing with China, Korea and Vietnam. The nature of people's democracy in the M.P.R., according to Heifetz, is the same as that of people's democracy in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe.

P. P. Staritsina expressed a different view, claiming that petty-peasant production still predominates in the M.P.R. at the present time, based upon very backward pastoral nomadic cattle-raising and that the tasks of fighting against the survivals of feudalism in the economy and in men's minds are still in process of accomplishment there. Quoting in support of his view a great deal of factual material and documents of the M.P.R. Government, Staritsina questioned Zlatkin's statement that by 1940 the tasks of the anti-feudal, bourgeois-democratic revolution had been completed in the M.P.R. and that Mongolia had already started on the road of socialist development. She mentioned a number of survivals of feudalism which still exist in the economy, in everyday life and in

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ideology, and also individual instances of the appearances of capitalist elements in the *arats'* (herdsmen's) economy.

3. The period in which the people's democratic power arose.

Important differences of view became apparent also on the question of the period in which the people's democratic power arose in the East. Whereas comrades Martynov, Heifetz and Sikinyanskaya expressed the view that the people's democratic form arose mainly after the Second World War and that the M.P.R., which was formed earlier, cannot in all respects be grouped with the other people's democratic countries of the East, comrades Zlatkin, Nikiforov and Ehrenburg related the fight for people's democracy and the setting-up of people's democracy regimes to an earlier period.

Discussing the question of the period in which people's democracy arose in China, V. I. Nikiforov expressed the view that from 1917-1919 onward the Chinese Revolution had already taken the path of the fight for people's democracy, although the organs of people's democratic power in the present-day sense of the words arose only after the Second World War. In connexion with this idea, Nikiforov gave an important place in his contribution to a characterisation of the Chinese Soviets as a form of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. Ehrenburg supported this view, holding that people's democracy as revolutionary-democratic dictatorship, as the dictatorship of the people, arose in China before the Second World War. There was no difference of principle between the character, i.e., the content, of the government at Fuichen in the so-called Soviet period and the character of the government in the Chinese People's Republic today.

Comrade Zlatkin put the period of the birth of people's democracy as far back as 1921. In his view, the first people's democracy in the world was the people's Republic of Bukhara. Thereafter, a new stategy appears—the bourgeois-democratic republic of a special type, with Mongolia as the example. The Communist Parties of China and Spain fought to transform their countries into republics of this kind. (See Decisions of the Extraordinary Plenum of the C.C. of the People's Revolutionary Party of Mongolia, May 1932, and the decision of the Sixth Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of China in 1938).

4. The importance of the experience of the Chinese Revolution and the ways of applying it in the revolutionary movement in other Eastern countries.

The majority of the comrades who took part in the discussion

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mentioned the enormous importance of the experience of the Chinese revolution for other countries and its special role in the formulation of the programme of struggle for people's democracy in India and the countries of South-East Asia.

G. N. Voitinsky said that, on the basis of and as a result of the victory of people's democracy in China, the Communist Party of India was able to present to the Indian people a platform and a programme which proved that there is only one road to the independence and economic progress of India—the road of people's democracy.

G. I. Levinson said that the progressive influence of the great victory of the Chinese Revolution was and continues to be particularly strongly felt in the countries of South-East Asia. The reasons for this were: the geographical proximity of these countries to China, the cultural links which have existed for centuries between China and these countries, and the presence in these countries of an important Chinese population (amounting to 45 per cent. of the total in Malaya and 20 per cent. in Thailand). The Chinese population in these countries continues to maintain close political ties with China and plays an active political role in the life of the countries where it lives. All this facilitates the mastery by the S.E. Asian countries of the experience of the Chinese Revolution, which is keenly studied and spread by the Communist Parties of these countries.

The most important features of the Chinese experience, according to Levinson, are the union of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal currents of the revolution; the creation of an all-national united front; the experience of the conquest and consolidation of the hegemony of the proletariat within this front; and, finally, the experience of the creation of the armed forces of the revolution of the national liberation army. Examples of the role of the revolutionary army are seen in the present stages of the revolutionary movements in the Philippines, in Malaya, in Burma and, up to the proclamation of the Republic, in Vietnam.

Contrary to the rapporteur's view, Nikiforov considered that the experience of the Chinese people in the creation of a revolutionary army and in revolutionary war has great importance for the other Eastern countries. Showing, from the example of China, that the revolutionary army and revolutionary war are the consequences of the rule of imperialism and feudal relations, which give rise to (i) the need to develop the revolution in the form of a revolutionary

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war, and (ii) the inequality of the development of the revolution, its prolonged character and the inevitability of its victory first in some parts of the country and then in others, Nikiforov declared that these conditions obtain also in other countries of the East, e.g. in India. One must therefore reckon that other Eastern peoples will wage revolutionary wars and create their revolutionary armies. As examples he cited the revolutionary happenings in Burma, Vietnam, Korea, Malaya and the Philippines, all of which countries have this feature in common.

The Indian specialists Balabushevich and Nasenko put forward a different view on the question of the revolutionary army. Referring to the very great importance of the Chinese experience and the broad utilisation of it by the Communist Parties of different Eastern countries, Balabushevich agreed with the rapporteur that it would be rash to see the Chinese Revolution and its path of development as a compulsory pattern for people's democratic revolutions in other Asian countries, and he demonstrated this from the example of India, where the incorrectness of mechanically transferring to India the experience of the Chinese Revolution, improperly understood, without taking into account the specific features of India, had been fully revealed. Nasenko also spoke on mistakes connected with the mechanical transference to India of the 'Chinese experience'.

The contributions of Dyakov, Balabushevich, Nasenko and Levinson, based on material from the present programmes of the Communist Parties of India and of the S.E. Asian countries and on concrete facts from the revolutionary activity of these parties, gave a broad review of the struggle of the Communist Parties and peoples of these countries for people's democracy and for the creation of a broad anti-imperialist and anti-feudal united front. The speakers showed that at the present time this struggle is being carried on on the basis of a correct mastery and utilisation (taking into account the specific conditions of each country) of the Lenin-Stalin teaching on the peculiarities of the national-colonial revolution in Eastern countries, of the experience of the great October socialist revolution and of the experience of the Chinese revolution. This was shown, in particular, in the latest programme of the Communist Party of India, which is a real programme of struggle for people's democracy and the creation of a broad national front in the concrete conditions of India.

(To be continued.)

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A NEW TOWN IN POLAND

GEORGE BIDWELL

A COMPLETE town conceived by socialist planning, carved out of the Polish countryside, devoted to the service of socialism, dedicated to the development of new, socialist man and woman—I was impatient to see this great conception, Poland's new foundry town of Nowa Huta, in the process of being realised. One entire settlement completed, others partly occupied and nearing completion, schools, creches, clinics, workers' clubs already functioning. I stepped into the Warsaw-Krakow plane, unable any longer to restrain my desire to view, to discuss, to appreciate, and so doing to share.

The aircraft sped southwards. I opened my book—*A New View of Society* by Robert Owen, and read how in 1784 Owen's father-in-law had founded a factory deep in a Scottish rural area where the land was uncultivated, the inhabitants poor and few in number, the roads in the neighbourhood passable only in good weather. First, the manufacturer procured five hundred 6 to 8-year old children from the workhouses and charity orphanages of Edinburgh, and built for them a large house in which, seeing himself as a philanthropist, he planned that they should be housed, fed and educated by the best teachers. He then set the children to work in his factory from 6 o'clock in the morning until 7 in the evening, after which hour their education commenced. Thus, for the seven, eight or nine years of their apprenticeship, the poor mites existed—except for considerable numbers who, not surprisingly, ran away. Many of them became dwarfs in body and mind, and some of them were deformed. Factory work being then an unpopular vocation, Mr. Dale peopled the small town which he built alongside the factory with persons destitute of friends, employment, prospects and generally of character. Lacking financial means for a decent existence, lacking any care, any opportunity to set up their own institutions, any provision for healthy and cultural recreation, the community quickly degenerated into a wretched society where idleness, vice, immorality and almost every kind of crime were prevalent.

This reading provided an interesting background picture for one on his way to see how People's Democracy moving towards socialism set about a task similar to that which had faced Mr. Dale.

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The Warsaw-Krakow aircraft hit a bumpy patch, and the small boy in front of me amused the passengers by saying loudly, 'It's time this road was made up, mummy'. I looked out of the window. The people's land, the people's homes, the mansions now devoted to the people's uses, the people's forests—all spread out below like a map across which hurried a puffing centipede and laid into the surface of which was a silver cord.

The aircraft banked steeply—and the whole of my immediate vision was filled with a picture of new building. At one end, the white walls of completed blocks, the flashing panes of shop windows, a glimpse of a shining concrete square surrounded by a border of red, white and green seeming to reach up towards the sun; paved roads leading away to blocks not yet plastered but already with mattresses airing and curtains at the windows.

The aircraft flattened out, and we sped over the tops of the walls not yet roofed, of scaffolding which seemed to stretch hands to grasp us; building machinery looking like toys on a model—and everywhere ant-like men and women, purposefully moving here and there, bending, raising, putting in place. Nowa Huta—a socialist town in the making. From the other window, a great belt of fresh green flanking the houses; that green belt will never be eaten up by buildings. It is a permanent provision of the plan; and beyond it walls and steel roofs, lofty chimneys and tops of great convertors looking like giant caterpillars. Nowa Huta Combine—a socialist industrial centre in the making. That aerial view was invaluable. Whenever later, I was visiting any individual feature of Nowa Huta, I was able to see it in perspective, as part of the whole which had been rolled out beneath us in panorama.

> There are no temporary huts in Nowa Huta. Everyone is housed in permanent buildings. Every housing estate has its own network of services—shops, hairdresser, restaurant. Schools are so located that children do not need to cross main roads; creches and clinics are operating, the hospital will be open at the end of the year; one cinema now, another one next year.

So I was told by Chief Engineer Gliwinski, tall and dark, calm but with a suggestion about him of dogged, determined strength to see a job through. And so was the reality—I saw it all. Two-room, three-room, four-room flats, with good kitchens, bathrooms and entrance halls; workers' hostels beautifully kept; milk bars liberally distributed; the pleasant breaking up of concentrations of large blocks with numbers of villas containing four flats; the high quality of the clothes of the men, women and children of Nowa Huta.

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An inter-union House of Culture to co-ordinate the cultural work of clubs in places of work, in Workers' Hostels; Evening Corners; organised Sunday excursions, accompanied by artistic teams. Nowa Huta has eleven larger artistic groups — choral, dancing, orchestral, dramatic — a 20-strong accordeon band.

So I was told by Franciszek Kasprzycki, Vice-Chairman of the Trade Union, a native of Ruszczs, one of a family of six children who in the 1930's had had a single pair of shoes between them. And so was the reality—I saw it all.

The fine concert hall in the House of Culture; the study rooms, the ping-pong rooms, the reading rooms, the rehearsal rooms in the clubs; the radio relay room where Nowa Huta's own programmes are prepared and transmitted through the loud speakers in the Evening Corners; the children playing happily in the sun on the broad balconies of the creches. All this I had expected to find at Nowa Huta—a socialist town. To see those splendid living conditions established was an education and an emotional stimulant. But there were other things which imagination had not pre-visualised. I caught a vitally vivid impression of aspects of Nowa Huta which reveal care for the individual, which show understanding of the needs of men, which point the way by which those superb socialist conditions of life are being employed in moulding new men and women of New Poland.

The good life needs green spaces, and the people of Nowa Huta have them in abundance. From the balconies of flats, from the windows of dining halls and workers' clubs and restaurants, from the pavements, from the combine, from the town—every eye can rest on green spaces and see in them, linking the mighty constructions of socialism, the symbol of the co operation of town and countryside. Tended and tidied under the care of residents' committees, those green spaces will, in giving pleasure, in refreshing men and women, forever flourish and not suffer the disfigurement of litter. Green spaces to remain green—flourishing in their eternally fresh glory.

In the evening, I talked in a Workers' Hostel with a 26 year old newcomer from the village of Bronowice Maly. He was standing in the room just allotted to him, being told about the routine, the situation of the dining hall, the milk bar, the Post Office and the rest. He greeted me, for we had met in the waiting room in the morning.

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'This is a bit of all right', he said. 'This is a real bit of comfort'—and he bounced the springs of his bed—'Good cupboard, fine big table that we can really do things on'.

'It's not going to take you long to settle in. I can see', I said, and he went on,

'Fair revelation to me, this day has been. It's less than 8 hours since I got off the train this morning, and in that time those reception people put me—'

'And 189 others today, I happen to know', I interjected.

'They put me' he went on, 'through documentation, Medical Examination and X-ray; personnel who asked me what work I wanted to do, saying I could have my choice if my medical certificate allowed it; Education Department, who offered me evening Secondary School, which I accepted'.

'If you had not completed basic education', said the Hostel administrator, 'they'd have arranged for that'.

'Then they doled me out with work clothing, rubber boots, sheets, blankets, pillow cases, towel, and fixed my accommodation'.

'An impressive piece of organisation', I said, and the newcomer answered,

'You've said it mate. Looks like a home from home to me. If work conditions are on a par with this, I reckon I'm on the pig's back all right'.

'You don't have to worry about work conditions—they're all right. Glad to meet you, looks like you and me are to be room mates', a bricklayer just off work had joined us.

'If you make other pals and want to change room-mates, let me know', said the administrator. 'It can be arranged'.

I asked my acquaintance of the morning if he was an experienced bricklayer.

'No', he said, 'the land's been my life up to now. But this Nowa Huta, this building up of a whole new town, from start to finish on new lines sort of caught my imagination. I'm making a new start, you might say. Got to learn from the beginning'.

'You won't find that too difficult', said the bricklayer. 'I was like you. But I volunteered for a three months' initial course—4 hours training a day and 4 hours normal work, with free dinners for trainees. I finished that course, and now I'm doing evening classes'.

Come he or she from town or country, I realised, Nowa Huta offers not only work and splendid living conditions, but a training, a profession, promotion, advancement.

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Wherever I went in Nowa Huta, I encountered libraries. In the Evening Corners, which have 50 or 100 books at a time regularly replaced; in the Workers' Clubs; in the Houses of Culture; and then Krakow Municipal Library branches in addition. These almost unlimited opportunities for reading technical books, educational books, political and social books, and books of fiction impressed me enormously. Cultural activists and those in charge of libraries have a tremendous responsibility. The latter must guide the reading tastes of borrowers which means they should be widely read themselves. They must be able to administer their libraries well—catalogues, records and the rest—and be of pleasing personality. The responsibilities of the general cultural activist, in charge of Workers' Clubs or Evening Corners are even greater. Theirs the responsibility for guiding people into making full use of the vast new cultural opportunities available to them. They need to have a good standard of education, to be good organisers, good leaders and to be tireless, utterly tireless. And the demand for them today is not by tens but by thousands. The problem for those whose business it is to supply the activists—the trade union—and to train them—the Ministry of Culture—is enormous. What is being done is nothing less than the creation of a new profession, a profession with no less responsibility than that of developing new, socialist man.

Green spaces, reception, training, provision for cultural life, these evidences of the balanced life for every man and woman made on me the greatest impression in Nowa Huta. I used to wonder how it could come to pass. And now I have seen it in the process of being created—the balanced life to develop new men and women.

The Krakow-Warsaw aircraft sped northwards, flying higher than on the southward trip, above clouds that seemed like great rolls of cotton wool the surface of which children had twisted into a hundred different shapes—a sphinx, a lion, a tower, a clump of trees. Mr. Dale with his eighteenth century construction and deplorable methods of populating a new town in rural Scotland no longer interested me. The present and its promise for the future exalted me.

Again I opened Robert Owen's Essays at random. This time my eye fell on the last paragraph on his Address to the Working Classes (1819):

> We are now advancing towards the dawn of reason, and to the period when the mind of man shall be born again.

In the People's Democracies the dawn of reason has arrived and the mind of man is being born again.

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Book Reviews

MR. LIPPMANN'S VIEWS —BEFORE AND AFTER

Public Opinion and Foreign Policy in the United States, by Walter Lippmann. (52 pp. Allen and Unwin. *5s.*).
U.S. Foreign Policy, by Walter Lippmann (110 pp. Hamish Hamilton. *6s.*).

IN 1943 Mr. Walter Lippmann earned much applause in Britain by a little book *U.S. Foreign Policy* in which, while advocating an 'Atlantic Community' after the war, he also recognised such home truths as: 'The principal military powers form a system in which they must be all at peace or all at war (p. 59). . . . A settlement such that it could be maintained only by aligning American, and therefore also British, military power against Russia in Europe would set the stage inexorably for a third World War in Europe and in Asia as well (p. 90). . . . Combined action by America, Britain and Russia is the irreducible minimum guarantee of the security of each of them (p. 101).'

But these sensible words were written only just after the great Soviet victory at Stalingrad (January 1943), while the rulers of the U.S.A. and Great Britain were still quivering from the fright they had got at Hitler's hands, and not quite sure how they were going to fix things against the U.S.S.R. after the war (though we know from Churchill's notorious memorandum of October 1942 about 'Russian barbarism' that their minds were already running that way). And so at that time, Mr. Lippmann could still blurt out that the Anglo-French deal with Hitler at Munich was based on 'a last vain hope that Germany and Russia would fight and exhaust one another' (p. 71). His proposals for a post-war settlement included (i) disarmament of Germany and destruction of her war potential, (ii) renunciation of the old 'sanitary cordon' of Central and East European States against the U.S.S.R.

Now, of course, everything is changed. Long before the Potsdam Agreement at the end of the war, the British and U.S.A. Governments began secretly building the atom bomb *against* the U.S.S.R., and openly encouraging the anti-Soviet Polish landlords and military adventurers quartered in London to resume their anti-Soviet policies. Both before and after Potsdam, the two governments developed their activities (described in Arthur D. Kahn's *Betrayal,* 1950, and the German *White Book,* 1952) aimed at restoring the economic power of big business and big landlords in Germany, and saving from the wreck the surviving German militarists and Nazi officials. In due course, this, as was inevitable, led to the re-establishment of an aggressive German state, and to attempts to *restore* the old *'cordon sanitaire.'*

And did Mr. Lippmann turn a hair? Does he recall his sensible words of 1943? Does he remember that he gave the warning then (p. 92): 'It is inconceivable that the Red Army, if it liberates these people from the Nazi conquerors, will permit governments operating from London and Washington to organise anti-Russian states on the Russian border'? Not on your life. He turns to and sings black to be white, like any other 'independent commentator,' in his new book on American foreign policy.

History has to go by the board. Before the war, we now learn,

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Britain and America had 'just about managed to coexist' with the U.S.S.R. (p. 36). Forgotten the steady policy of setting Germany on to the U.S.S.R. (pursued from 1925 by the Dawes Plan, the Locarno Treaties and the notorious Chamberlain Memorandum proposing a European anti-Soviet coalition)! Forgotten America's refusal to have normal diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. until the end of 1933! Forgotten the renewed attempts to set Germany attacking the U.S.S.R. after Hitler came to power—and forgotten Mr. Lippmann's own admission in this respect, quoted above!

Similarly Mr. Lippmann—in the teeth of all the evidence, as we have seen—announces like any official spokesman that the U.S.A. and Britain, after the war, 'dissolved the partnership' (p. 38): which of course only the cruel Russians (unwilling to let themselves be put upon) forced them to 'repair', i.e. to bring out into the open, atom bombs, Polish underground and all.

Above all, Mr. Lippmann forgets all he ever wrote about the Great Powers' need for combined action, if they don't want a third world war. On the contrary, he quite calmly sets out a programme which, if it were maintained, would infallibly lead to it. Germany must be rearmed, he says (p. 46). But it must not enjoy 'an entirely free hand in its foreign relations' (p. 48). No, Germany must be 'bound by her own sovereign choice and action'—'sovereign' choice without a 'free hand'!—'within a European system' i.e. to the Anglo-American alliance (p. 49). Moreover, the eastern frontiers of Germany fixed at Potsdam must not be accepted (p. 49). Poland must negotiate a new frontier with an Anglo-Americanised Germany — evidently *worse* than Potsdam—and an economic treaty (p. 50): in other words, must be detached from friendship with the U.S.S.R. And, over and above all this, the U.S.A. and British Governments must reassert 'all our rights to participate in the settlement of Europe east of the Elbe, indeed east of the Rhine' (pp. 49-50).

Anything else—as the Cockney children say? Mr. Lippmann forgets that the Soviet, Polish and Czech people have rights too. They fought hard for them against Mr. Lippmann's new-found (or perhaps old) German friends, losing some 14 million men, women and children in the process — exactly 13½ millions more than Mr. Lippmann's fellow countrymen. If they didn't yield to Hitler, they certainly won't yield to Eisenhower, Ridgway and Mr. Lippmann.

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN

HITLER'S HEIRS

The Critical Years, by General Baron Geyr Von Schweppenburg. (208 pp. Allan-Wingate. *18s.*).

GENERAL Geyr Von Scheppenburg was appointed by the Nazis as German military attaché in London in 1933. He stayed till 1937, returned to command the Panzer division which occupied Prague in 1939 and fought for the Nazis throughout the war. When he was asked to join the abortive Generals' revolt in 1944, he replied 'I shall not break my oath.' Millions of people both here and in Germany might conclude from this summary of his career that General Geyr was a Nazi who was lucky to escape with his neck. But they must be cured of such ideas, otherwise they will never agree to accept the German Generals as their allies. So General Geyr has published this

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book in both countries to prove they are wrong.

As history, the book can be dismissed, for not a single statement is documented, but as a move in the campaign to forge an alliance between the Nazi Generals and the West, it is of special significance. Schacht, Papen, Guderian and scores of others have all made their contributions and the pattern is clear. The object is to whitewash everything in the Nazi Reich except Hitler and his immediate associates and to prove that the Nazis' one mistake was to attack the West before they attacked Russia. Geyr's role is to show that the German soldiers—not the upstarts promoted by Hitler—understood from the beginning the links which ought to bind Germany to Britain and America. His admiration for the British military men is unbounded. In the autumn of 1933, according to his story, General Sir William Bartholomew, Director of Military Operations, suddenly asked in the middle of a conversation, 'What are your intentions with regard to the Ukraine?' Geyr adds, 'Right up to the time I took leave of the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Hore Belisha) in 1937, and at every stage in the political development of that time, I was constantly finding myself confronted with such questions.'

When after the Nazi occupation of the Rhineland in 1936, Geyr visited a British tank school in company with the Japanese and Italian military attachés, he was told that 'the British General Staff had been put in an extremely awkward position. They had been looking ahead and working intensively to bring about the German militarisation of the Rhineland, knowing that it was bound to come eventually in any case. It had been their intention to link the whole matter with an Air Pact for the Western Powers. But the Germans by taking the law into their own hands had nullified the good intentions of the British.' Geyr declares that 'Sir John Dill and those members of the British General Staff, who thought as he did, saw quite clearly that another war between the British Empire and Germany would only forward the designs of Russia and in this they showed a great deal more foresight than many of their compatriots.'

He throws in his own view, 'based on personal experience in the Caucasus' that but for the aid furnished by America the Red Army would not have survived the defeats of 1942. Needless to say his references to the war itself ignore the defeat of the Nazis by the Soviet armies. If you believe Geyr, you will no doubt agree that an alliance between the Western Powers and the Nazi Generals will easily win the war Hitler lost. Books like this were bound to appear once the Western Powers decided to recreate the Wehrmacht under the Generals who served Hitler. But the people will not be so easily fooled.

HENRY PURCELL

POSTSCRIPT

Geyr asserts that the Editor of a well-known British Society paper asked for and was promised £10,000 for portraying the private life of Goebbels and his family and that when the time came for the article to appear the British made it clear that they would only be interested in pounds sterling.

Did Geyr's British publishers check this damning statement?

H.P.

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ARGUMENTS FOR PEACE

Economics of Peace and War, by John Eaton. (112 pp. *5s.*); *Plot Against Peace,* by Ivor Montagu. (120 pp. *5s.*). Both Lawrence and Wishart.

VIENNA left no doubt that the world is discussing peace. And to this, Britain is no exception. More and more a great world debate is stirring on this greatest of all subjects; but the debate is hardly reflected at all in the world of British book publishing. It is for this reason that the firm of Lawrence and Wishart is to be congratulated on producing these two closely-reasoned contributions to the debate.

John Eaton's book starts with the serious facts of Britain's economic crisis, reviews something of its recent history and the effect upon it of the Marshall plan and then exposes with a battery of fact the so-called 'philanthropy' of contemporary American imperialism. Then, having surveyed the economic policy of the present Government, it draws the moral that only the economics of peace can serve the people.

Ivor Montagu's book covers the political side of the same set of facts and shows with unanswerable quotations and unanswerable reason that it is not the Russians but the Americans who are the aggressors in the world today. Then, just as Eaton's book shows that there is a perfectly sound economic alternative to the present insane position, so Montagu shows that there is a perfectly sound political alternative.

In one chapter, harking back to an earlier book, Ivor Montagu talks of 'the traitor class in 1952' and with justice, for the British ruling class is certainly leading the country today to disaster. It was with justice that the democracies of the world held all who acquiesced in Hitler's aggression to some degree accountable and any class, or section of a class, that acquiesced or is now acquiescing in aggression bears a very heavy responsibility.

These are books to read, and study, and use.

STANLEY EVANS

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS

British Planning and Nationalisation. Ben W. Lewis. Allen and Unwin. 314 pp. 24s.
The World the Dollar Built. Gunther Stein. Dennis Dobson. 288 pp. 12s. 6d.
Byzantium into Europe. Jack Lindsay. Bodley Head. 486 pp. 37s. 6d.
International Economic Conference in Moscow. Committee for the Promotion of International Trade. Collet's, London. 328 pp. 2s. 6d.
Atomic Imperialism. James S. Allen. International Publishers, New York. Collet's, London. 288 pp. 23s. 6d.
My Universities; My Apprenticeship; The Artamonovs; M. Gorky. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. Collet's, London. 302, 683, 614 pp. 3s. 6d.; 6s.; 5s. 6d.
Literature for an Age of Science. H. Levy and H. Spalding. Methuen. 250 pp. 15s.
Efficiency in the Nationalised Industries. Sir H. Houldsworth, H. Jones, Lord Latham, Lord Citrine. Allen and Unwin. 66 pp. 7s. 6d.
Theory of the Film. Bela Belazs. Dennis Dobson. 292 pp. 25s.
Science in New Poland. Jan Dembowski. Lawrence & Wishart. 60 pp. 2s. 6d.
John Locke. D. J. O'Connor. Penguin Books. 224 pp. 2s. 6d.
England in the Seventeenth Century. Maurice Ashley. Penguin Books. 256 pp. 2s. 6d.
England in Transition. Dorothy George. Penguin Books. 160 pp. 2s.
Art and Social Life. G. V. Plekhanov. Lawrence & Wishart. 236 pp. 21s.

PAMPHLETS

Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. J. V. Stalin. 103 pp. 6d. Report to the Nineteenth Party Congress on the Work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B). G. Malenkov. 148 pp. 6d. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. Collet's, London.
Atomic Energy: Progress Notes. Association of Scientific Workers. 20 pp. 2s.
Hungary's Churches Today. Rev. Stanley Evans. Hungarian News and Information Centre. 32 pp. 9d.
Polish Journey. British Polish Friendship Society. 72 pp. 9d.
Engineering Profits and Prospects. Labour Research Department. 16 pp. 6d.

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its way into a library. Countless present-day readers first met *L.M.* in the days when unemployment drove them to the public library or Institute for warmth and mental food. Increased readership leads to expanding circulation. If you can't find a new reader, make sure the demand in your library is fully voiced. Think of readers like these: *From Wales:* 'I am an old age pensioner, but I cannot afford to be without *L.M.* It is a tonic that keeps me young.' *From London:* 'Owing to hard times I thought I should have to discontinue, but a little windfall has saved me, more or less; I can renew until June. Living on a disablement pension is difficult . You know full well I would support you if I could.' *Another:* 'As a Yorkshire tyke, I send greetings to all. I have always been for socialism since I was ten or eleven years old and it is too late at 75 to change over! We aren't in midstream now, but can see the objective clearly—thanks to the U.S.S.R. So. England arise! Many thanks for R.P.D.'s Notes—always meat and drink.'

Congratulations to two of our indefatiguable circulation raisers. One East Anglian reader says: 'Having taken *L.M.* for a year now I do not think I can follow events properly without it. I have found yet another new reader for you; he is buying each month, a subscription seems a lot to find just now.' From the Midlands one of those stalwarts of the Labour movement wrote to thank us for sending off promptly some specimen copies: 'One had had his already when I called yesterday on my weekend lit. round. I am following up the others next week. And I'm getting another reader to tackle other weekend lit. customers on similar lines, so don't be surprised to get requests for more specimen copies from these parts.' And best wishes, too, to all who contributed to raising our December total to

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